2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

MLP cost them their jobs.[1] Others have friends or relatives on the other side with whom they do not wish to break. Yet others, responsible for maintaining the unity of a neutral club, fear that an open stand will bring about a crisis which would divide it. Although most of these persons continue to read the condemned papers, they do so discreetly, for reading them openly would provoke incidents. There are also a large number of Labour sympathizers who have been unwilling to forego the sacraments of the Church. They no longer read the Labour papers or attend MLP rallies, but they are bitter about having been forced to make the choice.

The physical act of purchasing a Labour newspaper has in itself become a public statement of political allegiance. After the condemnation and the threat of a general Church boycott of their premises (which was carried out in Gozo) most vendors have refused to handle MLP publications. In the villages they can usually only be bought at the local MLP club. Thus the act of striding across the village square and into the stronghold of the devil, performed in front of many of the village elders, becomes an open declaration of sympathy with the Labour cause. In Kortin many wait until the square is empty, usually around midnight in the summer, and then scuttle into the club to get their papers.

III

There is a correlation between occupational class and support for one of these two ideological divisions. In general, professionals, white-collar workers and farmers support the Archbishop, and industrial labourers the Labour Party. There are several reasons for this. To begin with, the Labour Party is a working-man's party, and there is ideological support for it on that account. Although the MLP has a definitely socialist ideology, and is a member of the Socialist International (points on which the Church attacks it regularly), it advocates few of the measures associated with doctrinaire Socialism, such as public ownership of transport and industry or the collectivization of farming. On the other hand, it does promise equal opportunity for all, and 'the right of the

[1] The Malta Government Circular of 19 October 1960 prohibited most grades of civil servants from holding office in political organizations or publicly expressing their political views. This regulation is something of a paradox in a small country in which most intellectuals work for the government in one capacity or another.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Grand Harbour and first establish themselves in the conurbation surrounding it has helped to keep the farmer devoutly tied to the Church. For this reason the action of the MLP in challenging the authority of the Bishops is as abhorrent to him as it is difficult to understand.

The recent sanctions of the Church have increased the class alignment of those who support the Labour Party and those who oppose it. This is largely because those with high social status have more to lose than industrial workers, and are thus more vulnerable to the pressure of public opinion and the Church. The increasingly heavy pressure of the Church has forced many of the young professionals and intellectuals to abandon the party for which they voted in 1955. But even when the MLP was in office, its policies began to alarm many in the professional and middle classes. They objected not only to Mintoff's attitude to the Church, but also to the somewhat abrupt way his government occasionally dealt with the professional and business communities. Many were disturbed by the MLP's rather sudden switch from advocating integration with Britain to demanding complete independence. As most of those who left the party or became inactive in it were moderates, both in their approach to the Church and to the economic and political problems facing Malta, the MLP has become more extreme in its outlook. This in turn induced others to leave it. This process was accelerated by the regulations which prohibited the better-educated civil servants from taking an active part in the political life of their country.

Table 7 below shows the rough correlation between occupational class and support of the Malta Labour Party. In particular, it demonstrates that as the proportion of skilled workers decreases, so does the proportion of voters who support Labour. Other variables are the number of professionals and farmers. The Second and Fourth Electoral Districts polled the highest number of Labour votes in the 1962 election, and the Sixth and Tenth the lowest. The MLP polled 56 per cent of the total votes in the Second Electoral District, where 45 per cent of the working population are classified as skilled labourers.

In contrast, it received only 6 per cent of the votes in Gozo, where only 16 per cent of the people are skilled labourers, but 38 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Another important variable is the number of clergy resident in a district. The relatively high

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

time-consuming tasks. To help as many as possible, they often made up new job rosters every few months.

Canvassers would often expect presents for their work as intermediaries and for the favours they promised or secured. By and large, the party agents or canvassers were not popular figures, at least in retrospect. I came across many accounts of how they had exploited their positions to enrich themselves. The usual story was that they had accepted gifts – a rabbit, some chickens, a bottle of whisky or even cash – but had not assisted as they had promised. These tales may or may not be true; I had no way of checking. It is significant, however, that persons of all political colours, including former Ministers and MLA's, believe them to be true.

Mintoff's government did much to change the course of the stream of political patronage. To begin with, shortly after it came into office in 1955, the MLP passed a law which made it compulsory for those seeking employment with the government as industrial labourers to register with the Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare.[1] There they had to wait their turn. This took away from MLA's a considerable source of patronage. The MLP also established special sub-committees of the Labour Committees in each village to deal with the complaints and requests of the local inhabitants. A member of the sub-committee was generally available to the public for an hour or two every evening. All requests for assistance and complaints were discussed by the entire sub-committee, which would countersign the routine ones and send them along to the appropriate government department. More important matters were brought personally to the attention of the civil servant concerned by a member of the sub-committee. Complicated requests and serious complaints were forwarded to the District Committee, where they were discussed at the regular weekly meetings with the district MLA's, who might then take the matter up directly with the Minister. Civil servants, on the whole, handled complaints and requests for action from the Local Committees with much the same dispatch they would give a request from their Minister. Some Ministers even went so far as to instruct their Department Heads to ignore all complaints brought to them by private persons, especially parish priests. They were told only to act on those presented by the Local Committee.

[1] Act No. XIV, 1955: 'An Act to Make Provisions for the Establishment and Regulation of an Employment Service.'

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as though he were bent on overthrowing the established social order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of countries which have fought successful battles against the Church. Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, 'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

IV

But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly united communities, life goes on and the social order does not disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
511 to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
[65] is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[157] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
454 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
[593] call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a few cases was it found that she was making any detailed attempt at budgeting for the expenses of her home and family. As with the operation of the farm so with the home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
[178] that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
178 Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[194] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as possible, though the provision of the family's clothing, as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven to make clothes for the members of the grower's family. is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
[656] Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
[433] rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas, pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes, endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges, apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

*159 24 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments. Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 159 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 46 656 The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

[433] 434 *159 46 24 465

159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anglu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anglu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

159 231 443 712 551 [659] His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-fossa". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anglu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

159 423 434 [432] Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodder. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

159 452 Anglu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anglu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

CASE VII : Wenzu (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

159 234 Like Case VI, Wenzu has been a goat herder and is now anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds 4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wenzu, is better suited to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confinement in cramped stalls. Wenzu became interested in cows when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his output to the M.M.U. He acquired the Friesians through an exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organised by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six cows will support a small family") but that this would not be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day on the fodder bill.

159 809 178 232 242 Wenzu's Case illustrates an important feature of the study of a predominantly illiterate section of society. This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious of what he may hear over Rediffusion, Wenzu relies on personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wenzu talking of this "Scots Doctor" one gathers that Wenzu last spoke with him quite recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some 25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Slythe of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued information on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a help for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore, any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance of success if this element of personal contact - particularly in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established. One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a single topic stands a greater chance of general success than has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

his object, and on the standard being taken to be returned to the Grand Master, the cloth covered globe burst open and out came a flight of pigeons. 527 526 175

The Maltese never allowed either foreigners or soldiers to share the profits of the *cuccanja*.

This entertainment which has been suppressed since the reign of the Grand Master De Rohan (1775-1797) was a a source of great delight to the Maltese people. [656]

BOWLS

A game of bowls is a favourite pastime in Malta. 562

The players arrange themselves in sides of three or four each, and each man is usually provided with three bowls, which he marks differently for distinction.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

taught to wave, while the band plays the national anthem, 796
'God Save the King.' In the time of the Order they proceeded to the palace to receive permission for the celebration of the Carnival. Their request was signified to the Grand Master by one of the knights, and upon the boon being granted, they immediately performed a dance in front of the palace, and afterwards before the door of any other person, whom they thought would pay them for their trouble.

The origin of this amusement must be sought for in 796
the annals of pagan rites, which Christianity has not 171
succeeded in abolishing in several countries of Europe. In a work on Malta, *Par un voyageur François*, the author ranks it with a popular feast very ancient in Thessaly, the *Salzea* of the Babylonians, the *Chronia* of the Athenians, and the *Saturnalia* of . . ne, which many of the early Christians continued, no[w] [with]standing the zealous efforts which were made by the [Ch]urch to abolish them."

It will be noted that the public "masque" was regarded 796
as "an absurd and foolish diversion." The "diversion" must 656
at some time have proved rather more dangerous than absurd, for the wearing of masks after sunset is now forbidden by law. It is of interest also to note that an attempt on the part of a strict Sabbatarian Governor who hailed from north of [669]
the Tweed to abolish the merrymaking on the Sunday of Carnival led to a major civil disturbance which could only be quelled at bayonet point, and which is still remembered by those who are, for one cause or another, "agin' the Government!"

DYING

Zeppu's tired hands are at rest. They lie, brown and calloused, 763
upon the coverlet. The village bell tolls urgently. The *fratelli*

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

311 656 342 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government (which removes it for him) any soil there may be on the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

133 311. So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however inaccessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved. Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as [342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age predecessor lived in them before him.

311 34 103 243 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farmhouses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, the visitor will likewise notice, let into the external walls of churches, small marble slabs bearing the inscription:

346
692
778

NON GODE
L'IMMUNITÀ
ECCLESIASTICA

The tablets meant that the churches and chapels in question did not enjoy the right of ecclesiastical sanctuary, and their explanation lay in the fact that until well after the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ecclesiastical Courts in Malta exercised temporal jurisdiction over the clergy. It followed that their jurisdiction extended over all consecrated buildings, in which the civil authority was unable to exercise its functions.

778
346
692
656

The next stage was reached when lay criminals sought refuge in these "extra-territorial" churches from the arm of the civil law. When the abuse tended to become serious the ecclesiastical authorities sought to minimize it by affixing the notice in question to various rural churches with the object of confining the right of sanctuary to the churches on which the inscription did not appear. But the right, even thus restricted, had clearly become an anachronism dangerous to the peace and good order of the country, and no longer tolerable. So in 1828 it was completely abolished by Governor Ponsonby by means of a Proclamation, whose preamble declares that:

> In consequence of certain privileges or immunities heretofore claimed as belonging to divers churches and other holy edifices and places in these islands, wicked and profligate men have often been tempted to commit murders, robberies and other atrocious crimes in the hope of escaping punishment by taking refuge in such places.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the underground granaries, shaped like vast jars, beneath the open space between Valetta and its suburb of Floriana and beneath a few other places, sealed with round stone lids and still in use for conserving Malta's stocks of imported grain.

There are other links in Malta with the rule of the Order of S. John. There survives, for example, from the days of the Grand Masters an official known as the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, who is the appraiser of the Government and impresses on Maltese silver its own hall-mark, the Maltese Cross, and on gold the crown or the Maltese shield. The Consul's office is housed on the ground-floor of the Monte di Pietà building in Merchants' Street. Opposite to it is the handsome Public Registry, with a tablet commemorating its reconstruction by Grand Master Zondadari. As if to compensate for the defacement by the French Revolutionaries of the Sienese Grand Master's escutcheon, his inscription was subsequently surmounted by a bust of George III, topped by the Royal Arms of that day.

In connexion with the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silversmiths it may be mentioned that the coinage of the Order remained legal tender in Malta until 1886, when by a Government Notice there were called in all coins of "the late Government of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem."[1] The principal denominations of the Maltese coinage were the scudo, the tari, the carlino and the grano or grain, which in Maltese were called *skut*, *rbighi*, *karlin* and *habba*; and not only the country people but all Maltese use to this day the old names to denote certain values in our modern coinage. Thus 2½*d.* is described as *tliet karlinijet* (three carlini); half a crown as *tmintax rbighi*, meaning eighteen tari; 1*s.* 3*d.* is invariably *disa' rbghajja*—that is, nine tari.

Malta has no longer a separate coinage of its own, but small bronze coins of one-third of a farthing, still known locally as grains, were struck at the London Mint for use in

[1] The standard work on this interesting coinage is Canon Calleja Schembri's *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, and edn., 1910).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

436 Malta in the reigns of all the British sovereigns who have ruled in Malta from George IV to George V inclusive.

186 Let this chapter end with another survival, perhaps the most ubiquitous of all, although its origin antedates the 173 arrival of the Knights by more than four hundred years. 178 It is the red-and-white Maltese flag which is flown throughout the islands side by side with the Union Jack. Long-established tradition has it that the red and white were the colours of the Norman House of Hauteville, and that the flag and the corresponding arms are one of the legacies of Roger de Hauteville, Count of Sicily, Lord of Malta, to this smallest of his dominions. When, between the World Wars, it was suggested to Malta by the English College of Arms that the Colony should regularize its arms by formally recording them at the College, Malta replied that it had borne those arms for nearly three centuries before the foundation of the College by Richard III.

The position was ultimately adjusted with the College in 1943, when Malta's coat-of-arms received the honourable augmentation of the George Cross.

326 656

Malta Government Hall-marks for Gold and Silver

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

again. He came with all his Ministers and we spent two hours together. He failed to convince me that he was prepared to give the proper assurances that he would maintain law and order and I therefore accepted his resignation. 64 668

"So the people of Malta are now without an elected Government, and I, the Governor, am without Ministers. I have been forced into a position where I have had to take over control of the Administration, and I want to tell you now just what this means.

"First of all the Legislative Assembly will be dissolved and there will be a General Election at the earliest possible moment.

"Secondly, the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vivian de Gray, remains in command of the Police Force. I can tell you now that everything will be done to ensure the preservation of law and order and public safety in Valetta and indeed throughout these Islands. I trust that there will be no more disturbances and that the elections will be held in complete freedom as they should be in a law-abiding community.

"Thirdly, I want to make it quite clear that the salaries of civil servants and Government employees will continue to be paid without interruption. There will be no crisis over finance or employment.

"I appeal to you, therefore, to remain calm, to maintain law and order, and to go about your day-to-day business as usual.

"Once again I want to say with all the emphasis I can that I am determined to get things back to normal without delay. I want to repeat that free elections will be held at the first possible moment.

"Finally, I want to assure you all that the British Government and people have nothing but goodwill for the people of Malta and will do everything they can to see that you have a peaceful, happy and secure future. As Her Majesty the Queen's Representative in Malta I make that statement without reservations of any kind."

The same day were issued Proclamations dissolving the Legislative Assembly and prohibiting for a fortnight the holding of public meetings and demonstrations in Valetta and Floriana. [656]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

668 A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not
579 immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre
dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in
•656 caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the
young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830.
[468] A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the
General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these
and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the
opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished
walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic,
destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police.
One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police
Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These
received encouragement from above; two members of the
Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had
their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer
impeded in the performance of their duty by political
pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in
the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small
but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the
lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the
prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demon-
strations was extended for three months and applied to all
Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of
emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider
[793] powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The
Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

4

642 With the elimination of factors making for trouble the
country settled down under the Governor's direct adminis-
648 tration, and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought
668 the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London
between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders